

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 HONG K 09169 150823Z  
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UNCLAS HONG KONG 9169

FOR PGM/PP, ICA/EA FROM ICA HONG KONG

E.O. 11652: N/A

SUBJECT: CODEL WOLFF PRESS CONFERENCE

FOLLOWING IS FULL TEXT OF STATEMENT READ BY CONGRESSMAN LESTER  
WOLFF AT HONG KONG PRESS CONFERENCE JULY 15.

BEGIN TEXT

OUR DELEGATION HAS JUST RETURNED FROM 10 DAYS IN THE PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA. THE MISSION WAS FASCINATING, AND, WE HOPE,  
HELPFUL TO FURTHERING MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING ON BOTH SIDES.

MEMBERS OF OUR DELEGATION INCLUDED MR FOUNTAIN, MR BURKE AND  
MR GUYER OF THE ASIAN & PACIFIC AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE, MR DE LA  
GARZA AND MR WINN OF THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE, AND  
MR RANGEL OF THE WAYS & MEANS COMMITTEE.

CERTAINLY NO VISIT OF 10 DAYS QUALIFIES ANY GROUP AS EXPERT  
ON THE POLICIES OR EVENTS OF ANOTHER NATION. ALTHOUGH OUR MISSION  
INCLUDED TWO MEMBERS -- MR BURKE AND MYSELF -- WHO FIRST  
VISITED CHINA TWO YEARS AGO, THUS GIVING US AN OPPORTUNITY FOR  
COMPARISON, I THINK WE ARE ALL UNITED IN OUR DETERMINATION NOT  
TO COME OUT OF CHINA ISSUING PRONOUNCEMENTS.

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HOWEVER, I THINK WE ARE EQUALLY UNITED ON A GENERAL SENSE  
OF WHAT OUR MISSION RECEIVED TO BE CERTAIN TRENDS IN CHINA WHICH  
WILL BEAR CLOSE STUDY IN THE WEEKS AND MONTHS TO COME.

I REFER SPECIFICALLY TO WHAT WE FEEL CAN BE CALLED A SENSE  
OF "NEW REALISM" IN CHINA, ON THE PART OF HER PEOPLE AND  
LEADERSHIP, CONCERNING BOTH DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS

FACING HER AT THE PRESENT TIME.

WHILE WE DISCUSSED MANY ISSUES WITH THE CHINESE, ONE AREA WHERE WE SENSED A POTENTIALLY IMPORTANT EXAMPLE OF THE NEW REALISM WOULD APPEAR TO BE ON THE QUESTION OF TAIWAN.

LET ME CLEARLY STATE THAT WE DO NOT FEEL THAT THE BASIC CHINESE POSITION ON TAIWAN HAS ALTERED REGARDING THEIR PERCEPTION OF THE NEED FOR U.S. ADHERENCE TO THE THREE POINTS, AND THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. RATHER, OUR DELEGATION SENSED A NEW REALISM IN TERMS OF AN EMERGING CHINESE EMPHASIS ON SEEKING WAYS TO SETTLE THE TAIWAN QUESTION ON A BILATERAL BASIS, BETWEEN THE CHINESE THEMSELVES, IN WAYS ACCEPTABLE TO THE PARTIES INVOLVED.

IN THIS REGARD, THE DELEGATION SENSED A GROWING CHINESE WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS TAIWAN'S FUTURE WITH THE KUOMINTANG ON THE BASIS OF EXISTING REALITIES.

IN OUR DISCUSSIONS ON THIS ISSUE, THE HISTORICAL FACT WAS RAISED THAT TWICE IN THE PAST THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE KUOMINTANG HAVE COME TOGETHER AND COOPERATED WHEN IT WAS IN THEIR COMMON INTEREST -- FIRST DURING THE TIME OF DR. SUN YAT SEN AND THE NORTHERN EXPEDITION, AND AGAIN TOWARD LIBERATION DURING WORLD WAR II.

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WHEN COUPLED WITH REPEATED INSTANCES OF OUR DELEGATION BEING TOLD THAT THE CHINESE RECOGNIZE WHAT WERE TERMED THE REALITIES OF THE U.S. INVOLVEMENT WITH TAIWAN, OUR DELEGATION EMERGED FROM THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC WITH A DEFINITE SENSE OF THE SOBERING EFFECTS OF THE VERY REAL STRATEGIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS FACING CHINA IN THE FORM OF THE SOVIET UNION -- THE "POLAR BEAR" -- AND WHAT THE CHINESE CALL THE SOVIET UNION'S "ASIAN CUBA," VIETNAM.

OUR GENERAL PERCEPTION OF CHINA'S "NEW REALITY" WAS REINFORCED BY OUR VISITS TO EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES, CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS AND FACTORIES ALIKE. AT INSTITUTIONS RANGING FROM PEKING UNIVERSITY TO A TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY IN SHENSI PROVINCE, WE HEARD THE SAME THEMES -- THAT THE DAMAGE DONE DURING THE STAGNATION OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, AND SOLIDIFIED BY THE EXTREMES OF THE "GANG OF FOUR" HAVE SET CHINA BACK YEARS IN SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION AND RESEARCH, AND SERIOUSLY RETARDED INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION, MODERNIZATION AND GROWTH.

AGAIN AND AGAIN, WE HEARD THE CHINESE RIGHTFULLY DISCUSS THEIR STRENGTHS, BUT FRANKLY DISCUSS THEIR WEAKNESSES, AND INDICATE THEIR DESIRE FOR CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS FROM THE WEST, PARTICULARLY FROM THE U.S.

AGAIN AND AGAIN, WE SAW EVIDENCE THAT THE NEW REALISM IS LEADING THE CHINESE TO BE RECEPTIVE TO AMERICAN TECHNOLOGY AND EXPERTISE TO HELP THEM OVERCOME THE LOST DECADE OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND THE SO-CALLED "GANG OF FOUR."

THIS EMERGING REALISM IS THE MOST STRIKING CONTRAST BETWEEN CHINA TODAY AND THAT OF TWO YEARS AGO, AND IS, WE FEEL, A MOST FAVORABLE IMPULSE TOWARD NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS. WHILE THE CHINESE REMAIN DETERMINED TO PURSUE SELF-RELIANCE, THEY APPEAR TO BE NO LONGER ADVERSE TO MAKING USE OF THE BEST FROM OTHER NATIONS, A POLICY ROOTED IN THE CHINESE EXPERIENCE THROUGH THE 1950'S PRIOR TO THE SINO-SOVIET SPLIT.

IN THIS RESPECT, IT IS THE DELEGATION'S OPINION THAT THE CHINESE  
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SEE THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. AS PART OF AN OVERALL STRATEGIC AND POLITICAL RECOGNITION OF THE REALITIES -- WHICH THEY SEE AS AN INCREASING PATTERN OF SOVIET ACTIVITY AROUND THE GLOBE, FROM ANGOLA TO ETHIOPIA AND SOUTH YEMAN, FROM AFGANISTAN TO VIETNAM. THIS CONFLICT WITH THE SOVIETS IS NOT SEEN AS JUST PART OF AN IDEOLOGICAL BATTLE BETWEEN TWO COMMUNIST NATIONS, BUT IS PERCEIVED AS AN EFFORT BY THE USSR TO DOMINATE THE ENTIRE WORLD.

HENCE, THE CHINESE SEE AN IMPROVED RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES AS BEING IN THE COMMON INTEREST OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

OUR DELEGATION SENSED THAT THE CHINESE DO NOT DESIRE THE U.S. TO PLAY THE NORMALIZATION ISSUE AS JUST ANOTHER "CARD" AGAINST THE SOVIETS, HOWEVER. INDEED, THE CHINESE SSEMED TO BE GOING OUT OF THEIR WAY TO STRESS THE COMMON STRATEGIC AND FOREIGN POLICY INTERESTS WE SHARE IN CONFRONTING SOVIET ACTIONS IN THE WORLD ARENA.

WHAT WE ARE CALLINGA NEW SENSE OF "REALPOLITIK" WAS PARTICULARLY PRESENT DURING DISCUSSIONS OF U S RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH SAW VERY LITTLE OF THE OLD RHETORIC, DESPITE WHAT WAS BASICALLY A CONTINUED, VERY HARD LINE CONCERNING THE SOVIETS.

A FINAL COMMENT IN THIS REGARD: THE CHINESE CONTINUALLY WARNED US NOT TO FALL FOR WHAT THEY TERMED A SOVIET "BLUFF" ON POSSIBLE SINO-SOVIET RECONCILIATION, SO SERIOUSLY DO THEY VIEW THE PRACTICAL POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC LONG-TERM THREAT POSED BY THE USSR.

THIS APPARENT DDCLINE IN IDEOLOGICAL EMPHASIS IS, AS I HAVE NOTED, REFLECTED IN CHINESE DOMESTIC MATTERS AS WELL. NOT ONLY DID WE SENSE A VERY REAL REVULSION AGAINST THE PRACTICES OF THE "GANG OF FOUR," WHICH CLIMAXED A DECADE OF AN IDEOLOGICAL BLANKET WHICH THREATENED TO SMOTHER CHINA, BUT I THINK WE ALSO  
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PERCEIVED A GROWING APPRECIATION OF THE LINKAGE BETWEEN HELPING TO MAINTAIN INTERNATIONAL PEACE, AND THE TIME NEEDED FOR CHINA TO GROW INTERNALLY.

NO LONGER DID WE HEAR THAT WAR BETWEEN THE U S AND THE SOVIET UNION IS "IMMINENT," AND "INEVITABLE," AS WAS THE CONSTANT THEME TWO YEARS AGO. THIS TIME WE HEARD THAT IF THE UNITED STATES MAINTAINS A STRONG POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC POSTURE IN ASIA, AND EUROPE PARTICULARLY, WAR IS ACTUALLY "POSTPONABLE," PERHAPS FOR AS MUCH AS 25 YEARS.

WHILE THIS MAY WELL FALL INTO THE GOOD NEWS/BAD NEWS CATEGORY, THE DELEGATION SENSED THAT HERE, TOO, A SENSE OF REALISM REGARDING CHINA'S INTERESTS AND NEEDS FOR THE YEARS AHEAD IS BEGINNING TO EMERGE.

WITH THIS GROWING PRAGMATISM, THE DELEGATION SENSED THAT WHILE CHAIRMAN MAO IS STILL THE DOMINANT FIGURE, HE IS BEING STUDIED ANEW -- IF NOT BEING REINTERPRETED -- FOR SUPPORT FOR THE NEW PRAGMATISM. AS I HAVE INDICATED, OUR MISSION HEARD VERY LITTLE OF THE RHETORIC WHICH SO PERVERSED THE VISIT TWO YEARS AGO.

THIS TIME THE ONLY SAYING OF CHAIRMAN MAO WHICH WAS CONSTANTLY REPEATED WAS MAO'S INJUNCTION TO "LET 100 FLOWERS BLOOM, LET 100 SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTEND." WE WERE REPEATEDLY TOLD THAT THIS NEW RALLYING CALL IS DESIGNED TO PERMIT CONSTRUCTIVE CONFLICT OF THOUGHT AND IDEAS IN ORDER TO STIMULATE THE PROGRESS WHICH THE CHINESE NOW FRANKLY ADMIT THEY MUST MAKE.

OUR DELEGATION FEELS THAT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS THEME FOR WHAT WE ARE CALLING CHINA'S "NEW REALISM" SHOULD, IF ALLOWED TO FLOURISH, AFFECT ALL ASPECTS OF CHINA'S LIFE AND POLICY, AND THAT IT CONSTITUTES A RETURN TO A DISCIPLINE PRACTICED BEFORE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION FOR THE ANARCHY OF THE RED GUARDS OF RECENT YEARS.

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SO TO CONCLUDE THIS BRIEF SUMMARY OF OUR IMPRESSIONS FROM THE PAST 10 DAYS, I WOULD SAY THAT IT IS OUR SENSE THAT A FLOURISHING GROWTH -- UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE PARTY, OF COURSE -- IS PRECISELY WHAT THE LEADERS OF CHINA HOPE FOR THEIR PEOPLE AS THIS HUGE AND GREAT NATION MOVES TO TAKE ITS PROPER PLACE IN THE WORLD.

WHILE IN CHINA, THE DELEGATION MET WITH MANY OFFICIALS,

INCLUDING VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING, VICE FOREIGN MINSTER MR.  
WANG HAI JUN, MR WANG JUN SHENG, VICE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN TRADE,  
AMBASSADOR HAO TEH CHING, PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE  
FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, DR CHOU PEI YUAN, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE  
ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND PRESIDENT OF PEKING UNIVERSITY, AND  
MANY OTHER INDIVIDUALS WHO GAVE GRACIOUSLY OF THEIR HOSPITALITY,  
TIME AND VIEWS.

END TEXT

SHOESMITH

(COMMUNICATION CENTER NOTE: MCN WILL BE FURNISHED ON MONDAY)

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## Message Attributes

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